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ARCHAEOLOGISCHE MITTEILUNGEN AUS IRAN

HERAUSGEGEBEN VOM
DEUTSCHEN ARCHÄOLOGISCHEN INSTITUT
ABTEILUNG TEHERAN

BAND 27
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DIETRICH REIMER VERLAG BERLIN

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METAMORPHOSEN IRANISCHER DENKMÄLER

(Taf. 1-3)

„Siehst du diese Frau dort, sie ist eine gewisse Charlotte Corday und das andere ist Marat, ein Mann, der sie unterhielt und den sie in ihrer Badewanne ermordete. Man muß doch sagen, daß alle diese unterhaltenen Weiber Canaillen sind“. – Hippolyte Taine läßt einen französischen Soldaten dies zu seinem Kameraden sagen, während sie auf dem römischen Kapitol vor einer Judith mit dem Haupt des Holofernes stehen! und bemerkt dazu: „es handelt sich um Geschichte so wie sie wird, wenn sie in den Gehirnen des Volkes ausgearbeitet, verunstaltet und vergrößert wird“.

beschrieben², auf der der König die Göttersymbole mit ausgestrecktem Finger verehrt³. – Die Variante des Choirilos (ap. Athenaios XII 529f): „Ich wurde König, und während ich das Licht der Sonne schaute, trank, aß und liebte ich“, spielt sicher auf die Flügelsonne des Shamash an, die meist vor dem betenden Herrscher erscheint, dem seinerseits geopfert wird (z.B. Abb. 1).

Mißinterpretationen auf Grund politischer Voreingenommenheit – oder präziser: eines neuen, politischen Mythos und des Verlustes eines älteren – wären in Menge beizubringen. Ein bekanntes Beispiel der klassischen Welt ist der Bericht über das sogenannte Grabmal des Sardapallos in Anchiale bei Tarsus und in Ninus: Letzteres trage in assyrischen Zeichen die Aufforderung: „iß, trink und vergnüge Dich; denn alles Andere ist nicht *das* wert“ – womit er das Schnalzen mit den Fingern gemeint habe, das auf der Stele dargestellt gewesen sei (Aristobulos ap. Athenaios XII 530c, mit mehreren Varianten). Wie schon Ed. Meyer gesehen hat, wird hier eine typisch neuassyrische Siegesstèle

Solche „Lesungen“ von bereits unlesbar gewordenen Inschriften sind bei den Griechen nicht selten und manchmal viel näher an der Wahr-

¹ Reise in Italien. Übers. v. E. Hardt (Diederichs 1967) 141.

² Forschungen zur alten Geschichte I (1892) 203 ff.: die Vorbilder müssen eine Stele in Ninive („schnalzend“) und ein Bild mit gefalteten Händen in Anchiale („klatschend“) gewesen sein; F. Weißbach, RE II 2 (1920) 2436 ff.

³ B. Landsberger, Mitteilungen der Altorientalischen Gesellschaft IV=FS. B. Meissner (1929) 294 ff.; M. I. Gruber, JNES 6, 1974, 73 ff.; U. Magen, Assyrische Königsdarstellungen – Aspekte der Herrschaft=BaF IX (1986) 45 ff.: der Gestus des „*ubana tarasu*“. – Auch das auf dem Denkmal in Anchiale beschriebene „Händeklatschen“ hat E. Meyer richtig gedeutet, wenn auch mit einem zu alten Beispiel illustriert; vgl. jetzt Magen ebd. 40 ff.: „König mit verstränkten Händen“ (vor Göttern).

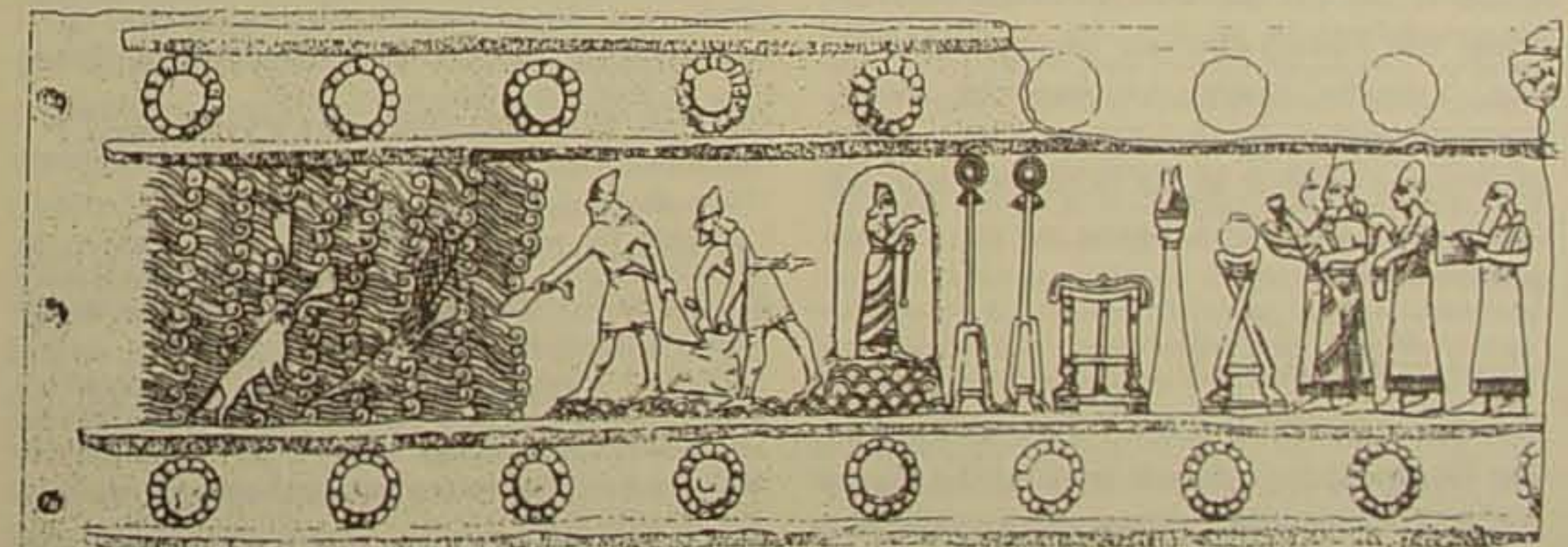


Abb. 1. Salmanassar III. mit zwei Priestern libiert vor einer Königsstèle und zwei Götterstandarten in der Nähe des Vansees (Magen³ 52 Taf. 8,1). – Von einem Bronzeband aus Balawat, Brit. Mus. – Zeichnung B. Seiß

If my suggestion to identify Rāzu[mētānu] with Urāzumētānu is correct, the itinerary of the journey can be reconstructed on this basis. The first well-known site was the settlement of Tahmakka, probably located in a relatively short distance from the Babylonian border. Some two months later the travellers reached Rāzumētānu¹⁶. Almost five months later Itti-Marduk-balāṭu and his fellow-travellers were in Asurukānu¹⁷, a settlement no more than 6 days distant from Ecbatana. The long time which passed from their presence in Tahmakka to their arrival in Ecbatana (almost exactly 7 months) seems to indicate that the journey was interrupted many times with longer stays in the places we know or some other of which we do not know. To sum up: the documents available now attest Itti-

Marduk-balāṭu's stay in Persia from February 26 to September 27, 537. To the latter date we must add at least a few weeks which were necessary for a journey from Ecbatana back to Babylon.

¹⁶ "The abode of the boars" according to the etymology suggested by Zadok⁷ 72.
¹⁷ "Tusk-whitish" according to the etymology of I. Gershevitch, see Zadok⁷ 72 n. 123.

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BARDIYA, DARIUS AND BABYLONIAN USURPERS IN THE LIGHT OF THE BISITUN INSCRIPTION AND BABYLONIAN SOURCES*

The events which took place in Persia and Babylonia between the end of the Babylonian (and Persian) year 523 (according to our calendar from Spring 522 B.C.) and the end of the eighth month of 521 (which in our calendar corresponds to November) form probably the most vivid sequence of events in the history of the Persian Empire. Before proceeding to a detailed analysis, we shall recall the most important facts in the way they are presented in contemporary sources, especially in the famous Bisitun inscription, despite various reservations as to the value of the chronological data it contains. It recounts how Cambyses, before starting the campaign against Egypt, gave the command to murder his brother Bardiya, and simultaneously ordered this to be kept strictly secret. While Cambyses was staying in Egypt, in Persia a revolt broke out under the leadership of a certain Gaumata. The leader claimed to be Bardiya, Cambyses' late brother. The revolt started on the 14th of Addaru (XII), i.e. March 11, 522, and on the 9th of Du'uzu (July 1) the whole empire was already subjected to Gaumata's rule. The accidental death of Cambyses in Syria created favourable circumstances for Gaumata to remain on the throne which he had gained unlawfully. "There was no one – not a Persian, not a Mede, not a Babylonian, no one in the (other) lands, not a man of our line – who would take the kingship from Gaumata, the Magush. The people were in great fear of him. He was killing many people who had known Bardiya previously"¹. The deposing of the "false king" was carried into effect only after Darius and his comrades took things into their own hands. They hatched a plot which led to the killing of Gaumata on the 10th of Tashritu (September 29), 522. The overthrow of Bardiya/Smerdis resulted in a series of rebellions against Darius;

as he himself stated, it took him just one year to suppress them. The course of these fights is related in a tri-lingual inscription on the rock of Bisitun, with the central section of the monument occupied by the relief measuring 3 by 5.5 m, presenting Darius with two of his closest courtiers behind his back, and in front of him depicting the original nine, and later ten defeated rebel kings. A little to the right of Darius' head there is a figure of Ahuramazda soaring in the air and blessing the king. Almost exactly over the head there is a ten line Elamite text containing Darius' genealogy. The figures of the vanquished rebel kings are accompanied by the so-called additions in all the three languages which enable us to identify them.

Scholars disagree in their opinion concerning Gaumata. The first group of scholars, to which belong R. Frye² and J. Wiesehöfer³, fully accept the accounts of Herodotus and Bisitun and treat

* I would like to express my gratitude to Mr. John MacGinnis for reading the manuscript and his many invaluable remarks and corrections. I would also like to thank him for letting me use his collations of several texts. An abbreviated version of this paper was presented during my visit at Zurich University in December 1991, at the meeting to the memory of V.G. Lukonin in January 1992 in St. Petersburg and during 39th RAI in Heidelberg 1992.

Additional Abbreviations: AJSL = American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures; RGTC 8 = R. Zadok, Geographical Names According to New- and Late-Babylonian Texts = Répertoire Géographique des Textes Cunéiformes (Wiesbaden 1983); YOS XVII = D.B. Weisberg, Texts from the Time of Nebuchadnezzar = Yale Oriental Series XVII (1980).

¹ E. von Voigtlander, The Bisitun Inscription of Darius the Great. Babylonian Version II: The Babylonian Versions of the Achaemenian Inscriptions = Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum I (1978) 31.

² R. Frye, The History of Ancient Iran (München 1984) 99.

³ J. Wiesehöfer, Der Aufstand Gaumatas und die Anfänge Darios' I. (1978) 66–73.

Gaumata as a usurper, who gained the throne unlawfully. Some of the facts linked with the story such as the assassination of Bardiya performed, supposedly, at Cambyses's order, the divergencies between various sources as to the time and place of the crime, the recognition of Bardiya's authority by the whole population accompanied by an almost unanimous resistance to Darius and, last but not least, the mirror-like similarity between Gaumata and Bardiya/Smerdis (about which we read in Herodotus' account) led A.T. Olmstead to reject the Bisitun Version of the events⁴. According to him, Bardiya/Smerdis was assassinated not by Cambyses, but by Darius and his comrades who thus managed to eliminate the claims to the throne of the older line of descent of the Achaemenid house.

At the beginning of the 1960's this belief was accepted and supported by M.A. Dandamaev⁵ and later by H. Tadmor and E. Bickerman⁶. The last two demonstrated that Darius, being in fact a usurper, could have used Mesopotamian customs to legitimize his power in a masterly way, creating his version of Gaumata's usurpation of the throne. He utilized folk legends about an evil demon who had removed the king from the throne and assumed the king's shape. As a result of this the real course of events was quite rapidly forgotten. When Herodotus visited Babylon some 70–80 years⁷ later, these events were related to him in a version bearing close resemblance to that of the Bisitun inscription. They were also related in a similar way to Ctesias of Cnidus during his stay at the court of Artaxerxes II⁸.

The research which has been conducted so far makes Darius' story about Gaumata, the Magush, implausible, but it does not provide proof that Darius was lying. One must find an argument that will allow us to see Darius's lie not only as highly probable, but indeed unquestionable in the light of the testimony he left.

In order to do this let us take one more close look at the inscriptions and the relief from Bisitun. All scholars agree that the inscription is

the oral tale of Darius himself in a literary form. It is indisputable, too, that the iconographic side of the monument was designed according to his instructions⁹. Also in this case Darius' intention is manifest: the relief was supposed to show Darius triumphal and protected by Ahuramazda who defeated and humiliated his dangerous enemies. It was Darius' wish to portray the persons in such a way that they could easily be distinguished and identified. For this purpose they were depicted – unlike on the prototype Annubanini relief from Sar-i-Pul¹⁰ – in their characteristic "national" robes. In addition, some typical elements were stressed, for example the kind of beards, coiffure, the clothing and shoes¹¹.

Descriptions of the relief, including descriptions of individual figures, have been presented

⁴ A.T. Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire* (Chicago 1948) 92f. This suggestion had been made earlier – cf. Wieshöfer³ 65 n. 2 and M.A. Dandamaev, *A Political History of the Achaemenid Empire* (New York, Kobenhavn, Köln 1989) chap. nine.

⁵ M.A. Dandamaev, *Iran pri pervykh Achemenidakh* (VI v. do n.e.) (1963) 121 and in the German translation *Iran unter den ersten Achämeniden* (Wiesbaden 1976) 108 ff. and Dandamaev⁴ chapter nine and ten.

⁶ E.J. Bickerman/H. Tadmor, *Darius I, Pseudo-Smerdis and the Magi*, *Athenaeum* 56, 1978, 239–261.

⁷ Cf. J. MacGinnis, *Herodotus' Description of Babylon*, *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 33, 1986, 67–86.

⁸ A detailed study of all the ancient accounts was made by Dandamaev⁴ 84 ff.

⁹ Cf. M.C. Root, *The King and Kingship in Achaemenid Art, Essays on the Creation of an Iconography of Empire* = *Acta Iranica XIX* (Leiden 1979) 191: "I would suggest that the planners of the relief had definite instructions about the type of sculpture they were expected to design."

¹⁰ Cf. H. Luschey, *Studien zu dem Darius-Relief von Bisitun*, *AMI N.F.* 1, 1968, 68 and Root⁹ 196–201 and Pl. 49; cf. Luschey in: *TehForsch VII* (1993).

¹¹ Luschey¹⁰ 87 and Root⁹ 183: "Each of the bound prisoners wears clothing which, at least in a general way, is suggestive of the land whence he comes. Similarly, variations in physiognomy and coiffure have been used to create an impression of individuality to the extent that each figure seems to characterize a certain regional or ethnic 'type'. Cf. also P. Calmeyer, *Zur Genese Altiranischer Motive*, X. *Die Elamisch-Persische Tracht*, *AMI N.F.* 21, 1988, 48: "sie (i.e. 'Lügenkönige') werden nicht nach dem Ort ihres Aufstandes bekleidet: dann müßte nicht nur Artana sondern auch Martiya Elamer sein. Vielmehr erweist sich erneut die große Bedeutung des angeborenen Ethnikons im Perserreich" (cf. also below).

in a number of publications¹² but, it seems, there are still possibilities of making new observations. This applies in particular to Gaumata's figure. In the text of the Bisitun inscription, Darius assures us that he, together with some of his helpers, deposed and murdered Gaumata, the Median Magush. If we take a close look at the figure crushed under Darius' foot, we recognize the typical Persian long robe with characteristics vertical folds¹³. Even more telling is the shape of Gaumata's right shoe that can be seen behind Darius' back. It is a characteristic Persian sandal with three straps¹⁴, differing both from the shoes worn by Persian monarchs and the Median shoes with their characteristic six straps. A possible suggestion here, that Gaumata is depicted on the relief in Persian attire and shoes for the sole purpose of showing him as a defeated usurper of the Persian throne must be refuted, because in such a case he would have to be wearing the so called "royal shoes". Therefore, it cannot be the royal garb¹⁵. This being so, Gaumata, the Median Magush, should be wearing Median clothing and shoes. Research shows that Median wear, just like that of the Magi, differed significantly from Persian clothing¹⁶. If we assume that the sculptors dutifully fulfilled Darius' order to depict each rebel in his "national" attire, then they left us in this way the missing clue that it was not the Median Magush who was murdered by Darius, but his Persian relative – Bardiya, Cambyses's brother and son of Cyrus II¹⁷. This means that, when concealing the traces of his crime, Darius did not avoid making a mistake. If the murdered person had been a Mede and a Magush, he should be dressed in a completely different way: either in Median attire, or in clothing typical of the Magi.

Covering up the traces of his crime Darius made, after all, one mistake: he did not notice that the two "stories" (the inscriptions and the relief) contradict each other in respect of Gaumata's person. We are dealing here with an extremely rare situation whereby a text can be verified by the relief which accompanies it¹⁸. Historians' mistrust of the version related by

the text is confirmed by the way the "Magush" was presented on the relief. The relief shows Bardiya/Smerdis, Cambyses' brother and son of Cyrus. The whole story about Gaumata the Magush was invented by Darius who in this way tried to cover the odious burden of killing his own cousin. The sculptors depicted the figure of the one who was actually murdered in the clothing he was actually wearing, not the person invented by Darius. This divergence between the inscriptions and the relief can be explained by the difference in time between depicting the relief and composing the texts. Trümpelmann, whose suggestion seems to me most probable, believed that the original composition would have been composed of the relief (without Skunkha) and ten-lines of inscription with the genealogy of Darius over his head¹⁹. It cannot be excluded that at that moment the version about a Magush-usurper did not yet exist and when it was created it was included in the post-

¹² The best and most detailed description, based on new photographs taken in 1963, can be found in the already quoted publication of H. Luschey¹⁰ 63–94 Taf. 23–42.

¹³ Luschey¹⁰ 74 Taf. 26, 28, 32, 37–3, 39–1; Calmeyer¹¹ 35 ff.

¹⁴ Luschey¹⁰ 76. Cf. H. von Gall, *Persische und Medische Stämme*, *AMI N.F.* 3, 1972, 265 and Root⁹ 185 and 112; Calmeyer¹¹ 27–31, esp. 47f.

¹⁵ Note that all other "false kings" are depicted without any attributions of their "royal" position.

¹⁶ Von Gall¹⁴ 277 ff. Cf. also A. Roes, *The Achaemenid Robe*, *BiOr* 8, 1951, 137–141; B. Goldman, *Origin of the Persian Robe*, *Iranica* 4, 1964, 133–132; G. Thompson, *Iranian Dress in the Achaemenid Period*, *Iran* 3, 1965, 121–126 and P. Beck, *A Note on the Reconstruction of the Achaemenid Robe*, *Iranica* 9, 1972, 116–122.

¹⁷ In Herodotus we find a piece of information according to which the magush Gaumata had no ears; but ears were visible (exactly his left ear) when King and Thompson prepared their book, see W. King/R.C. Thompson, *The Sculptures and Inscriptions of Darius the Great on the Rock of Bisitun in Persia* (London 1907). It is probable that this version is of Greek origin – cf. A. Demand, *Die Ohren des falschen Smerdis*, *Iranica* 9, 1972, 94–101.

¹⁸ P. Calmeyer, *Greek Historiography and Achaemenid Reliefs*, in: *Achaemenid History II. The Greek Sources*, eds. H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg/A. Kuhrt (Leiden 1987) 20.

¹⁹ L. Trümpelmann, *Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des Monumentes Dareios' I von Bisitun und zur Datierung der Einführung der altpersischen Schrift*, *Iranica* 3, 1968, 286–287 and Abb. 2. Cf., however, the different opinions of Luschey¹⁰ 91 and W. Hinz, *Die Entstehung der altpersischen Keilschrift*, *AMI N.F.* 1, 1968, 93–98.

script to every figure and in the great Elamite version to the right of the relief.

Working from the same premises, i.e. the depiction of Gaumata in Persian attire, a different interpretation was suggested by Prof. P. Calmeyer. His idea is²⁰:

1. Cambyses' successor gained the Persian throne by the revolt,
2. It was Gaumata, who claimed to be Bardiya, a true son of Cyrus and a brother of Cambyses, assassinated earlier on behalf of Cambyses,
3. Gaumata was a Persian, as is stressed by his garb on the relief. Being a Mede he could not pretend to be Bardiya, Cambyses' brother, because everybody could identify him by his foreign language²¹,
4. The term *maguš* does not designate his native identification (a member of the/a Median tribe) but membership of the class of priests,
5. The reading of *Ma-da-a-a* (line 13 of the Babylonian Version) is not right; it means that the earliest recognition of Gaumata as a Median comes only from Herodotus.

I agree with P. Calmeyer that the person called Gaumata by the Bisitun inscription was a Persian and that Cambyses' successor was an usurper. We differ, however, in the identification of the person in question (according to Calmeyer a member of a class of priests and to me the true brother of Cambyses). Calmeyer approves only the first part of Darius' account, i.e. the usurpation by a person who did not belong to the Achaemenid family. However, I find it difficult to refute the reading of 1. 15 of the Babylonian Version, which identifies Gaumata as a Mede, which is important in Calmeyer's theory (no new reading was published till now). In my opinion, almost all accounts concerning Gaumata were invented by Darius in order to refute the odious burden of his killing his own cousin.

The story of the existence of the Magian usurper rises from a well-known motive²². The only unusual thing in it is the non-stereotyped way in which Darius tries to justify taking over the

throne. I feel sure that the motive of the usurper has its roots in the situation in the Persian Empire in 522/521 B.C.

Note that several of Darius' opponents tried to gain recognition in their countries claiming to be either Bardiya, son of Cyrus (Vahyazdata in Persia) or descendants of local dynasties (Martiya in Elam, Fraortes in Media, Chissan-tahma in Sagartiya). This was the era of usurpers. If the king killed by Darius was the son of Cyrus, we must admit that Darius demonstrated truly Machiavellian smartness; he possessed excellent intuition for the situation and applied just the right methods. His way of thinking was probably such. If the usurpers claiming to be real descendants of kings of their countries were accepted, for the justification of the murder of Bardiya it would suffice to reverse the whole situation, i.e. present an authentic descendant of the Achaemenid dynasty as an usurper who is not bound by family ties. In a situation in which many "false kings" pretended to be descendants of local dynasties, such argumentation found very favourable conditions, and was accepted by the folk tradition – the source for the classical writers.

Let us turn to Babylonia in the years 522-521 B.C. During the whole period five kings were recognized in Babylonia: at the very beginning of the year Cambyzes, next Bardiya, later Nidintu-Bēl, son of Aniri (son of Kin-zēr in the Babylonian Version), who called himself Nebuchadnezzar, son of Nabonidus, in our reckoning Nebuchadnezzar III; next Darius (his year 0 and 1); and next Araha, son of Haldita, who also called himself Nebuchadnezzar, son of Nabonidus, in our reckoning Nebuchadnezzar IV.

²⁰ Calmeyer¹¹ 48 and personal talk during 39th RAI in Heidelberg.

21 Calmeyer¹¹ 48: „Nicht überraschend ist Gaumata nicht als Meder, sondern als Perser anerkannt; mit einem fremden Dialekt hätte er niemandem vortäuschen können, er sei Smerdis“.

²² Tadmor/Bickerman, *Atheneum* 36, 1978, 239ff.

Bardiya was recognized by the people of Babylon²³ already in the second month after the revolt had started, and from that moment till the news about his sudden death reached them²⁴, all texts were dated by his reign²⁵. Two Babylonian documents from the time shortly after the death of Bardiya are extremely important. The first of these, to be dated on the fourth day after Bardiya's assassination, comes from Sippar; the second that is to be dated into the week after his death was written in Babylon. Both already fall into the reign of Nebuchadnezzar III²⁶.

Scholars left these datings almost without any comment. I think, however, that the exact interpretation of these datings is very important not only to understand the situation in Babylonia itself, but also in the whole Persian Empire. The news about Bardiya's death could not have reached Babylonia earlier than two to three days after his assassination. It means that Nidintu-Bēl must have been recognized as a king of Babylonia on the very day the news reached the country. We can be sure that after the conquest of Babylonia by Cyrus the Great the Persian king placed garrisons in such great cities as Sippar (about 40 km north of Babylon), in Babylon itself, in Borsippa (a few km south-west of the capital city), in Nippur in the centre, and in Ur and Uruk in the south of the country. The fast, undisturbed recognition of the accession of Nebuchadnezzar III¹ is understandable only if we adopt the opinion that Persian troops were absent from Babylonia at the time around Bardiya's assassination. In my opinion the withdrawal of Persian troops from Babylonia was a signal for the Babylonians to prepare an insurrection against the Persian rule, starting immediately the news about Bardiya's death reached Babylonia, in a situation which seemed to be very favourable for such action.

Scholars who commented on the situation in the Persian Empire at that time were under the great influence of Herodotus' account, who suggested that the plot against Bardiya was prepared in a great conspiracy. A similar conclu-

23 The last document from Babylon dated after Cambyses' reign originates from Šahrinu, in the outskirts of Babylon, from the 23rd of Nisan, the eighth year of his reign (April 18, 522 B.C.), whereas the first one after Bardiya's reign is also from the month of Aiaru but with an unpreserved day date. J.N. Strassmaier also published an earlier document of Bardiya of the 19th of Nisanu (April 14) 522, discovered in Babylonia, see ZA 4: 1889, 125-125 (No. 2), but drafted in Humadešu in Iran, cf. R. Zadok, On the Connections between Iran and Babylonia in the Sixth Century B.C., Iran 14, 1976, 70f. and RGTC 8, 165. The copy of the text was found in Babylon since inhabitants of Babylonia were a party to the contract. That is why the document certifies only the recognition of Bardiya in Persia, but not in Babylonia. According to § 11 of the Bisitun inscription, Cambyses' death occurred not earlier than June 1, 522 B.C., cf. R.A. Parker/W.H. Dubberstein, Babylonian Chronology 626 B.C. - A.D. 75 = Brown University Studies XIX (Providence, R I 1956) 14ff.

²⁴ The last document comes from Babylon from the 1st of Tashritu (September 20) 522 B.C., see Strassmaier²³ 128 (No. 9).

²⁵ In the dating formulae occur either "accession year" or "first year", even though in both cases the same year is meant, i.e. 522 B.C. As shown by A. Poebel, *The Duration of the Reign of Smerdis, The Magian, and the Reigns of Nebuchadnezzar III and Nebuchadnezzar IV*, *AJSL* 56, 1939, 122-126 and G. Cameron, *Darius and Xerxes in Babylonia*, *AJSL* 58, 1941, 314, the discrepancy originates from the fact that some scribes knew that Bardiya/Smerdis had put forth his claim to the throne already in the period computed according to Babylonian calendar to the year 523 (the 14th of Addar, according to the Bisitun inscription), whereas others unaware of this fact at the beginning of 522 still dated texts according to Cambyse's reign (in his eighth year), and after having received information about the change on the Persian throne, probably before the king's order reached them, they had used dates for "the beginning of reign" (year 0) of Bardiya.

of reign" (year 0) of Bardiya.
26 J.N. Strassmaier, *Inscriptionen von Nabuchodonosor, König von Babylon* = *Babylonische Texte, Heft V* (Leipzig 1889) No. 1, from Sippar and No. 3 from Babylon from the 17th of Tashritu (October 6) 522 B.C. A list of documents dated after the reigns of Nebuchadnezzar III and Nebuchadnezzar IV was published recently by M.A. Dandamaev, *Slavery in Babylonia from Nabopolassar to Alexander the Great* (626-331 B.C.), (DeKalb 1984) 15f. Assuming that the documents of Nebuchadnezzar III were dated to year 0, while those of Nebuchadnezzar IV to year 1, one can extract from the list a collection of texts regarded by Dandamaev as documents from the time of Nebuchadnezzar III: Nbk 1, 3-5, 8-10, TMH 2/3, 6 and YOS XVII 8. The list should be supplemented by three texts: YOS XVII 126 (cf. F. Joannès, *RASS* 76, 1982, 85) and YOS XVII 133; cf. S. Zawadzki, *NABU* 1992 (n° 3 - Septembre) No. 81. Quite certainly the text Nbk 7 originating from Babylon from the 7th of Arahsmna (VIII) also belongs here.

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Darius and his six helpers. However, in Herodotus' account we can also find the arguments for the opposite interpretation, i.e. that Bardiya knew about the conspiracy against him. We read there that Gaumata and his brother Patizeithes insisted on Prexaspes (according to the account the man who murdered Bardiya on Cambyses' order) to declare "that it was Smerdis son of Cyrus and no other who was king of Persia" (Hdt. III 74). Prexaspes seemingly consented to do so, but while standing on a tower in front of the Persians he pleaded guilty to having killed Bardiya and committed suicide by throwing himself off the tower. So, Herodotus' account and our interpretation of the datings of the Babylonian documents suggest that the king of Persia must have known about the plot against him. For this reason it is hardly possible to accept Herodotus' tale about the circumstances of Gaumata's assassination-plans according to which the plotters entered the king's palace with weapons in their hands without any (or exactly only with little) trouble. So I think that Bardiya was informed about the plot against him and called up the Persian garrisons from Babylonia with the intention of using them against the plotters.

Undisturbed by Darius, Nidintu-Bēl remained in power in Babylonia for almost two and a half months until the month of Kislimu, i.e., till December 522. At that time Darius went to Babylonia, and in the battle on the Tigris on the 26th of Kislimu (December 13), he defeated him for the first time, but with no final victory. The place of the military engagement has not yet been precisely located, there is only a general statement that it took place on the Tigris. The document dated to the 29th of Kislimu (December 16) accession year of Nebuchadnezzar III allows us to fix at least approximately the place of the battle. Since the text comes from Uruk²⁷, we can be sure that the battle occurred in northern or middle Babylonia, and not in the south. The dating by the reign of Nebuchadnezzar as late as three days after the battle signifies that its result, or maybe even the fact that it took place, was then yet un-

known in Uruk. The final settlement was brought about by the battle at Zazanni, which was fought on the 2nd of Tebetu (December 18) 522 B.C., at a place not far from Sippar²⁸, and probably also not far from the scene of the previous military engagement. Even though Nidintu-Bēl, accompanied by a small body of troops managed to escape to Babylon²⁹, he was captured and impaled when Babylon was taken by Darius³⁰.

The date of the taking of Babylon, and at the same time the approximate date of the execution of Nidintu-Bēl, still remain unclear. According to Herodotus, Babylon was taken after a 20 month siege (Hdt III 150ff.). On the basis of the dates from a document published by him, Weissbach assumed that the capital was already in Darius' hands on the 6th of Tebetu, i.e. on the fourth day after the battle at Zazanni³¹, while other scholars have regarded this date as uncertain since the place of issue is not stated in it³². Apart from Bēl-iddinna, son of Sin-ereš, the other persons, i.e. Guzanu ša bīt kārē, Tabnea the šāpiru, are not known from elsewhere, and Nabu-našir, the scribe, Hašdaja and Nabū-šum-iškun appear without titles and bear names which were very popular in the whole of Babylonia, which also excludes their positive identification. Only the first person mentioned above can possibly be identified as Bēl-iddinna, son of Sin-ereš from the <Ea>-ēpeš-ili family, whom we know from the document Liv. 33:3 issued in Babylon on the 4th of Arahsamnu (VIII) in Darius' 19th year of rule. However, this does not suffice to conclude that Darius' capture of

²⁷ YOS XVII 126. In: E. Leichty, Catalogue of the Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum VI: Tablets from Sippar 1 (London 1986) there is another text 82-5-22, 877 (BM 54557) dated 29. IX. Dar o. I am indebted to Mr. MacGinnis for the information that the text comes from the accession year of Darius II.

²⁸ Cf. R. Zadok²³ 334.

²⁹ §§ 19 and 20 of the Persian Version of the Bisitun inscription.

³⁰ von Voigtlander¹ 22, line 40 with translation on p. 56.

³¹ F.H. Weissbach, Babylonische Miscellen = WDOG IV (1903) Pl. 13, No. 3.

³² Parker/Dubberstein²³ 15.

Babylonia occurred before the 6th of Šabatu (January 21), 521 B.C., and if we take into consideration the first date mentioned in the text, to establish it before the 6th of Tebetu (December 22) 522 B.C. The earliest presently known text certifying the capture of the city by Darius comes from the 8th of Aiaru (II) in the first year of his reign, i.e. May 20, 521³³. We can only hope that the catalogue of Babylonian texts which I.L. Finkel is preparing, will allow us to determine more precisely the date of the capture of the country's capital by Darius. It is already certain that not only the statement of Herodotus about the taking of the city after a siege supposedly lasting 20 months is erroneous, but so is Weissbach's explanation, too, who in his commentary to the above mentioned text suggests that Herodotus mistakenly identified the period of siege of the city with Darius' stay in Babylonia, which, in his opinion, lasted for at least 16 months. This is hardly possible. First, the above mentioned date leaves no doubt that the city was taken before May 20, 521 B.C.; second, we have every reason to think that it occurred earlier, i.e. before Darius left Babylonia.

The data of Darius' departure from Babylonia is not exactly stated in the Bisitun inscription. But we know from that text that Darius participated in person in the defeat of Fraortes on the 25th of Nisan (May 8) 521 B.C. at Kundurush in Media³⁴. So we can safely assume that Darius captured the capital city before leaving Babylonia. We can also safely assume that Darius left Babylonia a week or two before the date of the battle. Moreover, it is difficult to imagine that Darius could have left Babylonia without capturing its capital city. According to Dandamaev³⁵, this figure may concern the period from the usurpation of Nebuchadnezzar III till the decline of Nebuchadnezzar IV, which constitutes a period of a maximum of 15 months. More likely, since it is closer to Herodotus' figure, is the computation of the whole period of disturbances, i.e. from the usurpation of Gaumata till the decline of Nebuchadnezzar IV, which constitutes almost exactly

20 months³⁶. Bardiya was recognized in Babylonia only in the second month of the year 522 B.C.; however, the year ended with the intercalary month Addaru šanū (a fact that was not taken into account by scholars trying to solve the problem). So, 12 months of the year 522 B.C. and 8 months of year 521 constitute exactly 20 months as in Herodotus' account. This means that Herodotus told us the exact number but did not understand the reasoning of his informer(s).

Despite the uncertain date of his capture of the capital, Darius remained the only unchallenged monarch of Babylonia till the end of 522 B.C. This is shown by documents from Sippar, Nippur, Kutha and from the vicinity of Uruk³⁷. In the light of these data, it is very unlikely that the next usurper, Araha, Haldita's son, could have put forth his claim to the Babylonian throne already that year, even though all his documents coming from the next year are dated immediately to the "first year" of his reign with the omission of "the year of accession to the throne".

Thus, according to the Bisitun Inscription, the defeat of Nebuchadnezzar III restored peace in Babylonia only for a short period of time. As the text says, while Darius stayed in Persia and Media with the aim of suppressing perilous rebellions there, a new rebellion in Babylonia was initiated by an Armenian³⁸, Araha, son of Haldita, in a place called Dubala which is difficult to locate³⁹.

³³ Text No. 98 from collection 84-2-11, see E. Leichty/J.J. Finkelstein/C.B.F. Walker, Catalogue of the Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum VIII: Tablets from Sippar 3 (London 1988) 100.

³⁴ § 31 of the Persian Version.

³⁵ Dandamaev⁴ 124.

³⁶ Still at the end of the month of Nisan (I) 522 B.C., documents in Babylonia were dated to Cambyses' reign (cf. above, n. 23), and the earliest text certifying recognition of Bardiya in Babylonia comes from the month of Aiaru (II).

³⁷ Cf. below the list of documents dated Darius O.

³⁸ An Urartian according to the Babylonian Version (line 85).

³⁹ See below.

The results of long lasting research on the chronology of the events of the years 522 and 521 B.C. have been collected in the second edition of the book by Parker and Dubberstein⁴⁰, and later research has added very little to their conclusions⁴¹. Accordingly, it is presently assumed that Nebuchadnezzar IV began his reign in the month of Abu; and the first text that the authors could present is dated on the 16th of Abu (September 25) 521 B.C.⁴². Only recently a new text has been published⁴³ that shifts this limit just two days earlier. The authors, however, neglected earlier suggestions to date the beginning of the rebellion to a considerably earlier period. Such a suggestion was first made by Poebel, though admittedly on false premises⁴⁴. He referred to the article by A. Ungnad published in 1907⁴⁵, where a group of texts from the period from the 14th of the month of Du'uzu of year 0 to the 16th or even the 27th of the month of Tashritu of year 1 was mentioned. Referring the data first mentioned (the 14th of Du'uzu (IV) to the reign of Nebuchadnezzar II is absolutely impossible because his father, Nabopolassar, died as late as the 9th of Abu (V). However, ascribing this date to the reigns of the two next monarchs of the same name also seems impossible. It is definitely too early a date to be connected with the reign of Nebuchadnezzar III whose rebellion, according to the Bisitun inscription and dates known from Babylonia, broke out only after the death of Gaumata; however, the date cannot be connected with the reign of Nebuchadnezzar IV either, since all of his texts are dated to his first year, with the omission of the year 0. Poebel, who thought that Ungnad cited unpublished texts from the Vorderasiatisches Museum, suggested that the first date should be referred to the reign of Nebuchadnezzar IV. According to him Nebuchadnezzar IV pretended to be Nebuchadnezzar III who had been killed several months earlier. In his opinion the scribes could have expected that the new ruler would start counting his rule from his accession year, in accordance with an old Mesopotamian custom. Only later when they received the king's order they changed the dat-

ing from "accession year" to his "year 1". On this basis Poebel suggested dating the beginning of Araha's uprising to July 24, 521 B.C., i.e., almost exactly one month earlier than suggested by Parker and Dubberstein. Already G. Cameron⁴⁶ has shown that Ungnad had two published texts in his mind, i.e. Nbk 1 and Nbk 18. In addition Cameron suggested emending Nbk 1 to the seventh month, which was confirmed later by a collation of A. Sachs⁴⁷. Thus, Nbk 1 is now recognized as the earliest text of Nebuchadnezzar III. Although Poebel's attempt to date the uprising of Araha to the month Du'uzu must be refuted, his idea that Nebuchadnezzar IV tried to present himself as Nebuchadnezzar III deserves serious treatment for at least two important reasons:

a. it makes clear why Nebuchadnezzar IV started to date his documents immediately by his first year with the omission of the accession year⁴⁸,

⁴⁰ Parker/Dubberstein²³ 16.

⁴¹ Cf. YOS XVII, p. XIX ff. and Joannès²⁶ 85-86.

⁴² YBC 7386 published now in YOS XVII No. 286.

⁴³ OECT X 406 dated 14 Abu (23rd of August) 521 B.C.

⁴⁴ Poebel, *AJS* 56, 1939, 139-142.

⁴⁵ *OLZ* 10, 1907, 464f.

⁴⁶ Cameron, *AJS* 58, 1941, 317 n. 16.

⁴⁷ Parker/Dubberstein²³ 15.

⁴⁸ D.B. Weisberg in his commentary on the data concerning the two Babylonian usurpers expressed his opinion that in view of the narrowing span between texts of Nebuchadnezzar III and Nebuchadnezzar IV, one must take into consideration the possibility that in reality in the years 522 and 521 B.C. there was only one king by the name of Nebuchadnezzar. In such a case, in Weisberg's opinion, we would be compelled to admit that in the Bisitun inscription - the only source of information about the existence of two Nebuchadnezzars - Darius committed a very serious forgery, cf. YOS XVII p. XXIII.

Although now nobody takes Darius' assurance about his veracity and hatred of lies seriously, the mere fact that both usurpers are mentioned only in the text of the Bisitun inscription does not suffice as an argument for rejection of this version. The report itself in both cases speaks for recognizing it as authentic. And both usurpers are mentioned by their name and the names of their fathers. Describing struggles with the first usurper, the text says that after defeat in the battle at Zazanni, Nebuchadnezzar escaped and together with several riders came to Babylon. Darius went after him, took the city, captured the usurper and executed him. According to Darius' own report the revolt of Nebuchadnezzar IV was suppressed by Intafernes who

b. because both usurpers claimed to be sons of Nabonidus⁴⁹ and both claimed to bear the name of Nebuchadnezzar before their ascension to the throne.

The second attempt to shift the beginning of Nebuchadnezzar IV's uprising to the month of Du'uzu was made by Cameron. His arguments are based on the analysis of the data contained in the text Nbk 12, dated to "the fourth month, first year of Nebuchadnezzar", identified by him with the king Nebuchadnezzar IV⁵⁰. The broken day date enables only an approximate dating for the period after July 11 and before August 10 (the first day of the next month Abu) 521 B.C. This suggestion, however, was rejected by Parker and Dubberstein, since the next document, which undoubtedly must be dated to the reign of Nebuchadnezzar IV, is a whole month later than the date of the document pointed out by Cameron. The authors also stated that the signs giving the month and year are broken, so this makes the date uncertain. The latter opinion must be considered unjustified in the face of a fact that the researchers have not mentioned a collation of the text in the British Museum. In Strassmaier's copy the month sign is really broken but if it has been copied correctly, a reading other than Du'uzu is not possible. The reading of the year, however, is beyond doubt. The identification of the Nebuchadnezzar mentioned in this dating with the fourth of this name, is inevitable because of the presence of Marduk-nāšir-apli, member of the Egibi family, whom at first Cameron and later J. Krecher⁵¹, have identified as Marduk-nāšir-apli, son of Itti-Marduk-balātu. His activity as one of the most distinguished members of the Egibi family is well documented, and its beginning falls in 523 B.C. As Cameron already remarked, the occurrence of

acted on his orders, while Darius himself remained in Persia. Both descriptions sound authentic enough, and in my opinion, should not be rejected. I think that as long as we have no other data, one should accept Poebel's idea that there were two usurpers, but the second pretended to be the first one.

other people, especially Itti-Bēl-lummir, son of Bēl-ahhē-iqīša from the Sagdidi family, who was active during the reign of Cambyses, i.e. in the period immediately preceding the suggested date of the year 521, compels us to identify the monarch as Nebuchadnezzar IV. Probably having considered these factors, Krecher suggested the dating of the text to the year 521, but at the same time, he amended month IV to VII. Possibly his decision was conditioned by the fact that this date would be contradictory to the other dates of the documents of Darius' reign which are attested until the 1st of Ululu (September 8) 521 B.C. in Sippar (located not far from Babylon). As long as Strassmaier's reading is not called into question by collation, there is no substantial ground for its rejection⁵².

In the article I have mentioned here many times, Poebel remarked that according to the Bisitun inscription the revolt of Araha broke out during Darius' stay in Persia and Media. Since the monarch could have come to Persia directly after the battle at Rakha which was fought on the 12th of Aiaru (i.e. May 24), thus, the revolt in Babylonia could have started already in that month or at the beginning of the month of Simanu (III) (i.e. June 12 to July 6). However, the remarks accompanying this suggestion show that Poebel had serious doubts as to the correctness of his opinion⁵³.

Actually my prosopographic research on the Sippar materials confirms the outbreak of the revolt not later than at the end of the month

⁴⁹ Babylonian sources do not mention any son of Nabonidus by the name of Nebuchadnezzar. Note also that the inhabitants of Mesopotamia did not have a custom of giving the same name to two sons of the same father.

⁵⁰ Cameron, *AJS* 58, 1941, 318 n. 23.

⁵¹ J. Krecher, *Das Geschäftshaus Egibi in neubabylonischer und achämenidischer Zeit* (unp. Diss. 1970) 251.

⁵² The traces of the month name are now no more than a fragment of one horizontal wedge (Letter to the author from Mr J. MacGinnis, 4th November 1992). In his opinion "the tablet doesn't look as if it has decayed since Strassmaier: it is worn but intact".

⁵³ A. Poebel, *Chronology of Darius' First Year of Reign*, *AJS* 54-55, 1937-38, 288 and 290 and *AJS* 56, 1939, 141-142.

of Aiuru. The evidence comes from the long known text Nbk 11 dated on the 27th of Aiuru first year of Nebuchadnezzar recognized by the editor as the first year of Nebuchadnezzar II (604 B.C.).⁵⁴ But analysis of prosopographic data compels us to drop this date without any question whatsoever. In line 7 of the text, Nabû-apal-iddin (šāpiru), receiver of dates, is mentioned, and he can with full certainty be identified as the bakers' supervisor (šāpiru ša MU^{mid}), known from eight other texts. Five of them are dated to Darius' accession year (522 B.C.)⁵⁵, one to his second year (520 B.C.)⁵⁶ and one could have been written already in his first year or at the beginning of his second year⁵⁷. On these grounds, the text Nbn 49 from the 5th of Addar of the first year of a monarch who is not specified by name must be identified as a text of Darius I. Thus, the activity of Nabû-apal-iddin was closely connected with Darius' reign. In consequence of the 83 years gap separating the first year of Nebuchadnezzar II from the beginning of Darius' reign, the text must be dated to the first year of Nebuchadnezzar IV's reign⁵⁸.

Dating the text Nbk 11 to the reign of Nebuchadnezzar IV entails a complete re-assessment of current views on the situation in Babylonia in 521 B.C. It shows that the next rebellion began at the end of the second Babylonian month (i.e. Aiuru 27 = June 8) at the latest, and not, as has been assumed, as late as the fifth month (after August 10)⁵⁹. This means that automatic dating of documents of Nebuchadnezzar's first year from the period prior to the month of Abu to the reign of Nebuchadnezzar II, so far accepted, can no longer be applied; the classification of each document from this period must be preceded by meticulous prosopographic studies.

Taking into account the conclusions above and new dates from several unpublished texts from the so-called Sippar archive, we can now make an attempt at a preliminary interpretation of the situation in Babylonia in 521. Thus, at least till the first half of the month of Aiuru (the

end of May) Darius' position was not threatened. At some point during the month of May one should date Darius' march to Media, and afterwards a new usurper rose up, who in the light of data now available⁶⁰, was recognized only by the city of Sippar⁶¹. On the 12th of Simanu (III) he was also perhaps recognized by the city of Borsippa⁶², and in Du'uzu (IV)

⁵⁴ Strassmaier's reading of the date is now confirmed by E. Leichty/A.K. Grayson, *Catalogue of the Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum VIII: Tablets from Sippar 2* (London 1988) 45 and MacGinnis' collation.

⁵⁵ Dar 2 (26. XI); Dar 3 (27. XI); Dar 5 (22. XII); Dar 7 (24. XII); Dar 10 (—).

⁵⁶ Dar 36 (17. V).

⁵⁷ Dar 21.

⁵⁸ Two scholars were closest to dating the text exactly. K.L. Tallqvist, *Neubabylonisches Namenbuch* (Helsingfors 1905) 122 gathered the document of Nabû-apal-iddin šāpiru (present reading šāpiru), among them Nbk 11, Nbn 49 and 4 documents dated to Darius' rule. He did not separate, however the texts of Nebuchadnezzar IV and did not give any commentary to these texts. Recently MacGinnis in his unpublished dissertation (*Letter Orders from Sippar and the Administration of the Ebabbar in the Late-Babylonian Period*, Cambridge 1991) made a list of all šāpiru of the bakers from Sippar, among them Nabû-apal-iddin, whose activity lasted between 26. XI. Dar 0 and 17. V. Dar 2. Most probably, MacGinnis also identified both abovementioned texts. However neither the commentary to the table nor the book as a whole include any comments, which can testify that he recognized the significance of Nbk 11 for the chronology of Nebuchadnezzar IV's reign.

⁵⁹ The month of Abu began on August 10. Since the first document of Nebuchadnezzar IV recognized so far bears the date of 14 Abu (August 23), the document recognized here shifts the beginning of the usurpation of Nebuchadnezzar IV by more than two and a half months. The suspicion expressed by Weisberg that new texts will reduce the gap between documents from the reigns of Nebuchadnezzar III and Nebuchadnezzar IV has been fulfilled, the only difference being that it was possible on the basis of documents already known for a long time but not subjected to detailed prosopographic studies.

⁶⁰ Cf. the list of document below.

⁶¹ The document 82-7-14, 144 dated (—). II. Dar 1 (without day date) could have originated before the recognition of Nebuchadnezzar IV.

⁶² In the document TuM 2/3, 100 however, no name of the king appears, so the scribe might as well have meant the first year of Darius, cf. F. Joannès, *Archives de Borsippa. La Famille Ea-ilûta-bāni, Étude d'un lot d'archives familiales en Babylonie du VIII^e au V^e siècle av. J.-C.* = *École Pratique des Hautes Études, IV^e Section, Sciences historiques et philologiques II, Hautes Études Orientales* 25 (Genève 1989) 189–190. It cannot be ruled out that since this year was first for both Darius and Nebuchadnezzar IV,

by Babylon. The first evidence for the recognition of the rule of Nebuchadnezzar IV in the neighbourhood of Nippur and in the southern part of the country comes at late as the month of Abu (V). This seems to indicate that Nebuchadnezzar IV had first reached for power in the northern part of the country, and then strenuously gained recognition in the south. Not only does this contradict F. Joannès' recent conclusions⁶³, but also the Bisitun inscription, according to which the usurper started his activity in Dubala – according to the Persian version – and in Ur – according to the Babylonian version. On this basis all scholars⁶⁴ place Dubala in the vicinity of Ur which is no longer possible. It is not an easy task to explain this discrepancy; we can only suppose that the author of the Babylonian version could have known Dubala in the vicinity of Ur, but did not know Dubal located not far from Sippar⁶⁵.

The situation in Sippar at that time is particularly complex. Apart from the document 82-7-14, 144⁶⁶, probably seven more documents dated in the first year of Darius at that time originate from this city, while both Sippar and other cities in the meantime recognized Nebuchadnezzar IV. Such recognition of Nebuchadnezzar at one time and Darius at other times in documents belonging to the temple archive arouses the

deepest amazement. This could result from internal divisions among administrative officials of the temple. It is highly improbable that the decision whether to date the texts to Darius or Nebuchadnezzar IV could have been made by the scribes without the order of the authorities of the Ebabbar temple, or at least some of them. I suggest that for the recognition of Nebuchadnezzar's IV rule in Sippar Bēl-uballit⁶⁷, then šangu of Sippar, is responsible. It is symptomatic that he lost his post before the end of the year, i.e. after the suppression of the revolt. His disappearance cannot be accidental, for example due to his natural death, because the very strong influence of the šangu Sippar family of which he was a member also ended at that time. Remarkably, Šarru-ludari, qipu of the temple and royal appointee, retained his office⁶⁸. The changes in the methods of dating in the Ebabbar could reflect struggles between these two highest temple officers.

⁶³ RAss 76, 1982, 86.

⁶⁴ Except for Poebel, *AJSL* 34–35, 1937–38, 290 ("somewhere in the neighbourhood of the Diyala River") and F.M.Th. de Liagre Böhl, *BiOr* 25, 1968, 152 (near Uruk).

⁶⁵ Mentioned in a document regarded as originating from the Ebabbar archive from Sippar, CT 55, 435. This location is also supported by the fact that the earliest document dated after his reign originates just from Sippar (see below).

⁶⁶ Cf. above n. 61.

⁶⁷ This office was then occupied by Bēl-uballit, temple administrator (šangu), who lost his position after Cambyses' death and before the end of the first year of Darius. That his disappearance was not the result of a natural death is indicated by the decline in importance of the šangu Sippar family whose member he was (cf. S. Zawadzki, *Great Families of Sippar During Chaldean and Early Persian Period*, RAss 84, 1990, 22).

⁶⁸ According to MacGinnis, the king took some interest in the qipu office.

by omitting the name the scribe thus escaped declaring himself for either Darius or Nebuchadnezzar IV in such an unclear situation. Because beginning from the month Simanu probably all cities, except Sippar, dated documents to the reign of Nebuchadnezzar IV, this document might also have been dated to his reign. This suggestion is confirmed by the title: LUGAL Babili⁶¹ used by Nebuchadnezzar IV.

Barziya/Barduia/Smerdis

- 19.1.1 (Apr. 14, 322)
 -2.0
 3.3.0 (May 27)
 6.3.0 (May 30)
 23.3.1 (June 16)
 26.3.1 (June 19)
 26.3.1
 -3.1
 15.4.0 (July 7)
 19.4.1 (July 11)
 21.4.1 (July 13)
 23.4.1 (July 15)
 25.4.0 (July 17)
 27.4.1 (July 19)
 27.4.1
 27.4.1
 28.4.1 (July 20)
 1.5.1 (July 23)
 3.5.1 (July 25)
 6.5.1 (July 28)
 9.5.1 (July 31)
 20.5.1 (Aug. 11)
 21.5.1 (Aug. 12)
 -5.1
 -5.1
 3.6.1 (Aug. 23)
- 81-6-25, 66=BM 41455⁶⁹. Humadešu⁷⁰
 Sp.II.8=BM 34536⁷¹. Babylon⁷²
 94-7-17, 29=BM 82711⁷³
 VAT 122=VS 4, 85. Babylon⁷⁴
 83-1-18, 651=BM 75318⁷⁵. (Sippar)
 83-1-18, 765=BM 75430⁷⁶. (Sippar)
 82-9-18A, 47=BM 74331⁷⁷
 YBC 3846⁷⁸
 GC II 132⁷⁹
 82-9-18, 6332=BM 66339⁸⁰
 82-9-18, 7409=BM 67412⁸¹
 83-1-18, 44=BM 74726⁸². (Sippar)
 FLP 1486 Uruk⁸³
 82-9-18, 5066=BM 65085⁸⁴
 VAT 492=VS 6, 117⁸⁵. Babylon
 YBC 7403⁸⁶. Babylon
 YBC 7366⁸⁷. Babylon
 83-1-21, 782=BM 83619⁸⁸
 82-9-18, 2368=BM 62399⁸⁹
 83-1-18, 122=BM 74802⁹⁰. (Sippar)
 82-9-18, 1678A=BM 61707⁹¹
 VAT 123/124=VS 5, 57/58⁹². Babylon
 YBC 3984⁹³. Uruk
 82-9-18, 4761=BM 64780⁹⁴
 84-2-11, 176=BM 77436⁹⁵
 NBC 6132⁹⁶. Ālu-ša-Nabû-zēr-ušabši

⁶⁹ ZA 4, 1889, 148 (No. 2); S. Graziani, *Testi editi ed inediti datati al regno di Bardiya* (322 a.C.), Supplemento n. 67 [zu] AIUON LI (1991) fasc. 2, Napoli 1991, no. 6.

⁷⁰ In Iran, cf. Zadok, Iran 14, 1976, 70ff. and RGTC 8, 165.

⁷¹ Strassmaier²³ 147 (No. 1) and Graziani⁶⁹ 2f. (No. 1).

⁷² Aiaru (II), and not Nisannu (I) as in Parker/Dubberstein²³ 15.

⁷³ Graziani⁶⁹ 2-3 (No. 2) with a photo on Plate II.

⁷⁴ Graziani⁶⁹ 4f. (No. 3).

⁷⁵ Strassmaier²³ 149 (No. 3); Graziani⁶⁹ 10f. (No. 7).

⁷⁶ Strassmaier²³ 149 (No. 4); Graziani⁶⁹ 10f. (No. 8).

⁷⁷ Graziani⁶⁹ 12f. (No. 9) with a photo on Plate III.

⁷⁸ Mentioned by A. Goetze, JNES 3, 1944, 45 and Graziani⁶⁹ XV n. 17.

⁷⁹ Graziani⁶⁹ 6f. (No. 4).

⁸⁰ Graziani⁶⁹ 12f. (No. 10) with a photo on Plate III.

⁸¹ Graziani⁶⁹ 14f. (No. 11) with a photo on Plate IV.

⁸² Strassmaier²³ 150 (No. 5); Graziani⁶⁹ 14f. (No. 12).

⁸³ H.G. Stigers, JCS 28, 1976 1-33 (No. 21); Graziani⁶⁹ 6-9 (No. 5).

⁸⁴ Graziani⁶⁹ 16-19 (No. 14) with a photo on Plate V.

⁸⁵ Graziani⁶⁹ 16f. (No. 13).

⁸⁶ Mentioned by Goetze⁷⁸ 45 and Graziani⁶⁹ XV n. 17.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ Graziani⁶⁹ 18f. (No. 15) with a photo on Plate V. On p. XXXIV correct the month VI to V and the signature 82-1-21, 7826 to 82-1-21, 782.

⁸⁹ Graziani⁶⁹ 18f. (No. 16) with a photo on Plate V.

⁹⁰ Strassmaier²³ 150 (No. 6); Graziani⁶⁹ 18-21 (No. 17).

Acc. to Leichty/Finkelstein/Walker³³ 16 the day date should be read as 6 (confirmed by MacGinnis). In Graziani⁶⁹ XXXIV the signature 82-9-18 should be corrected to 83-1-18.

⁹¹ Graziani⁶⁹ 20f. (No. 18) with a photo on Plate VI. In Graziani⁶⁹ XXXIV correct the signature BM 1707 to BM 61707.

⁹² Graziani⁶⁹ 20-23 (No. 19).

⁹³ Mentioned by Goetze⁷⁸ 45 and Graziani⁶⁹ XV n. 17.

⁹⁴ Graziani⁶⁹ 24f. (No. 21) with a photo on Plate VII.

⁹⁵ Graziani⁶⁹ 22-25 (No. 20) with a photo on Plate VI.

⁹⁶ Mentioned by Goetze⁷⁸ 45 and Graziani⁶⁹ XV n. 17.

- 6.6.1 (Aug. 26)
 8.6.1 (Aug. 28)
 10.6.1 (Aug. 30)
 10.6.1
 10.6.1
 13.6.1 (Sept. 2)
 15.6.1 (Sept. 4)
 15.6.1
 19.6.1 (Sept. 8)
 20.6.1 (Sept. 9)
 1.7.1 (Sept. 20)
 10.7.1 (Sept. 29)
 20.8.1
 15.1.1
 17.1.1

- 82-9-18A, 138=BM 74418⁹⁷
 82-9-18, 6791=BM 66798⁹⁸
 VAT 125=VS 4, 86⁹⁹. Babylon
 Liv. 22¹⁰⁰. Babylon
 82-9-18, 1776=BM 61807¹⁰¹
 CBM 3606=BE 8/I 100¹⁰². Nippur
 CBM 3612=BE 8/I 101¹⁰³. Nippur
 82-9-18A, 194=BM 92729¹⁰⁴. Zazanni
 82-9-18A, 406=BM 74681¹⁰⁵. Sippar
 76-11-17, S.t. 127¹⁰⁶=BM 30405. Babylon
 76-11-27, S.t. 261¹⁰⁷=BM 30534. Babylon
 killed by plotters
 82-7-14, 3834=BM 59425¹⁰⁸
 82-9-18, 7514=BM 67516¹⁰⁹
 82-9-18, 1805=BM 61836¹¹⁰

Nebuchadnezzar III

- 14.7.0 (Oct. 3, 322 B.C.)
 17.7.0 (Oct. 6)
 20.7.0 (Oct. 9)
 -7.0
 ().7.0 mentioned in
 7.8.0 (Oct. 25)
 10.8.0 (Oct. 28)
 24.8.0 (Nov. 11)

- Nbk 1. Sippar
 Nbk 3. Babylon
 Nbk 4. Babylon
 Nbk 5. Babylon
 YOS XVII 113¹¹¹
 Nbk 7. Babylon¹¹²
 Nbk 8. Babylon
 YOS XVII 8. Borsippa

⁹⁷ Graziani⁶⁹ 24f. (No. 22) with a photo on Plate VII.

⁹⁸ Graziani⁶⁹ 26f. (No. 23) with a photo on Plate VII.

⁹⁹ Graziani⁶⁹ 26f. (No. 24).

¹⁰⁰ Graziani⁶⁹ 30f. (No. 26).

¹⁰¹ Graziani⁶⁹ 28f. (No. 25) with a photo on Plate VIII. The date is mentioned in the text.

¹⁰² Graziani⁶⁹ 32f. (No. 27).

¹⁰³ Graziani⁶⁹ 32-35 (No. 28).

¹⁰⁴ Strassmaier²³ 151 (No. 7); Graziani⁶⁹ 34f. (No. 29). In Graziani⁶⁹ XXXVI correct the signature 82-9-18, 194a to 82-8-18A, 194.

¹⁰⁵ Graziani⁶⁹ 36f. (No. 30) with a photo on Plate IX.

¹⁰⁶ Strassmaier²³ 152 (No. 8); Graziani⁶⁹ 40f. (No. 34).

¹⁰⁷ Strassmaier²³ 152 (No. 9); Graziani⁶⁹ 38-41 (No. 32).

¹⁰⁸ Graziani⁶⁹ 40f. (No. 34) with a photo (which should be reversed) on Pl. X. The reading of the month was suggested by Leichty²⁷ 284 and was approved with hesitation by Graziani. The date is impossible to approve because Bardiya was killed a month and four days earlier. Dandamaev¹⁹³ f. n. 18 suggested emending the month to Nisannu (April 15, 322 B.C.) "which is in full accordance with some other documents dated to Barziya". It is, however, impossible because till Nisan 23 Cambyses was still recognized in the country. The only possibility I see is the month of Du'uzu. (According to MacGinnis the traces suggest the reading NE or DU.)

Concerning the date of the text 82-9-18, 360a (11.8. Tār-zi-ja

1) published by Graziani⁶⁹ 40f. (No. 33) (on p. XXXVI correct the signature 82-9-18, 360a to 82-9-18A, 360) with a photo on Pl. X, see Cameron, AJSL 58, 1941, 315-16, who suggested the dating to the first year of Cambyses. Graziani⁶⁹ XIV-XV, XVIII dates this text to the time of Bardiya which in the light of prosopographic evidence is impossible. Taqī-Gula of the text must be identified as the šāpiru ša nuhatimmē who held the post till the fifth year of Cambyses (Cameron, op. cit. 316 and J. MacGinnis, Letter Orders from Sippar and the Administration of the Ebabbara in the Late-Babylonian Period (1995) 132). He is followed by Bēl-remanni who was active between 15. III. Cam 5 (Cam 278) and 4. V. Bar 1 (Strassmaier²³ 150 (No. 6)=Graziani⁶⁹ 18-21 (No. 17)). Note that the first date stands in conflict with the last mention of Taqī-Gula in Cam 281 (19. V. Cam 5). It means that the activity of Taqī-Gula ended a few years before the accession of Bardiya; therefore the dating of the text to his rule is excluded.

¹⁰⁹ Leichty/Grayson³⁴ 207.

¹¹⁰ Graziani⁶⁹ 42-45 (No. 36) with a photo on Pl. XII.

¹¹¹ Cf. Zawadzki in NABU 1992 (N° 3-Septembre) No. 91.

¹¹² Identified by the presence of Marduk-ētir, son of Iddin-na-Marduk of (Ea)-ēpeš-ili, the scribe of the text who was active from 322 B.C., (cf. Strassmaier²³ 152 (No. 9)=Graziani⁶⁹ 38-41 (No. 32) (1.7. Bar. 1)) till 507 B.C. (Dar. 410:19 (10.8. Dar 15)). So, the accession year of Nebuchadnezzar II is fully excluded.

7. 9.0	(Nov. 24)
20. 9.0	(Dec. 7)
21. 9.0	(Dec. 8)
26. 9.0	(Dec. 13)
29. 9.0	(Dec. 16)
2.10.0	(Dec. 18)

STEFAN ZAWADZKI

TMH 2/3, 6. Borsippa
 Nbk 9. Babylon
 Nbk 10. Babylon
 DB § 18 – Darius defeats him on the Tygris.
 YOS XVII 126. (Uruk archive)
 DB §§ 19 and 20. Darius defeats him in the battle at Zazanni.

Nebuchadnezzar IV

27.2.	Nbk 1	(June 8, 521)
(-).47	Nbk 1	(before Aug. 10)
14.5.	Nbk 1	(Aug. 23)
16.5.	Nbk 1	(Aug. 25)
18.5.	Nbk 1	(Aug. 27)
24.5.	Nbk 1	(Sept. 2)
26.5.	Nbk 1	(Sept. 4)
26.5.	Nbk 1	
2.6.	Nbk 1	(Sept. 9)
2.6.	Nbk 1	
3.6.	Nbk 1	(Sept. 10)
4.6.	Nbk 1	(Sept. 11)
8.6.2.	Nbk 1	(Sept. 15)
11.6.	Nbk 1	(Sept. 18)
13.6.2.	Nbk 1	(Sept. 20)
14.6.	Nbk 1	(Sept. 21)
15.6.	Nbk 1	(Sept. 22)
15.6.	Nbk 1	
19.6.	Nbk 1	(Sept. 26)
21.6.	Nbk 1	(Sept. 28)
23.6.	Nbk 1	(Sept. 30)
24.6.	Nbk 1	(Oct. 1)
25.6.	Nbk 1	(Oct. 2)

Nbk 11. (Sippar)
 Nbk 12. (Babylon)¹¹³
 OECT X 406. Ālu-ša-Bannēšaya¹¹⁴
 YBC 4049=YOS XVII 286. Gadēti¹¹⁵
 YBC 4066=YOS XVII 35. Kurbat¹¹⁶
 YBC 7386=YOS XVII 287. Uruk
 YBC 4045=YOS XVII 288. Nār eššu¹¹⁷
 NCBT 364 (Goetze, JNES 3, 45). Uruk
 YOS XVII 289. Nahallum¹¹⁸
 TCL 12, 22. (Uruk archive)
 YOS XVII 290. Bāb-Aššuritu¹¹⁹
 Neirab 1. (Nippur region)¹²⁰
 YOS XVII 291. Šaqillatu¹²¹
 BRM I 43. Borsippa¹²²
 YOS XVII 292. Nahallum
 Nbk 13¹²³. Babylon
 YOS XVII 301. Uruk
 TuM 2/3, 150. Borsippa
 L. 1667¹²⁴. Borsippa
 L. 1657¹²⁵. Borsippa
 Nbk 14¹²⁶. (Sippar archive)
 Nbk 15¹²⁷. (Sippar archive)
 Nbk 16¹²⁸. (Sippar archive)

time of Nebuchadnezzar III or Nebuchadnezzar IV. Because all documents of Nebuchadnezzar III are dated to this *rēš šarrūti*, the text must be ascribed to the reign of Nebuchadnezzar IV.

¹²⁷ This date was already accepted by Cameron¹⁰⁸ 1941, 318. In the text *Šamaš-kāšir* ¹⁰PA šā ¹⁰MU.MEŠ is mentioned; he can be identified with the man known from many texts of the Achaemenid period. At the same time another *Šamaš-kāšir*, supervisor of the brewers was active (Dar 113:21 ¹⁰PA u ¹⁰BAPPUR.MEŠ, 4th year of Dar). I cannot determine which of these is present in our text. However, as both were active at the same time I approve Cameron's suggestion.

¹²⁸ The date was already suggested by M. San Nicolò, *Eine kleine Gefängnisgeheime in Eanna zur Zeit des Kambyses*, in: *Festschrift für Leopold Wenger=Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte*, Heft 35 (München 1945) 6. Another person who was active at that time is Bēl-apal-iddin mentioned in 1. 12, who can be identified with the ¹⁰PA šā ¹⁰MU.MEŠ.

¹¹³ Cf. n. 52.

¹¹⁴ In the vicinity of Nippur, cf. RGTC 8, 65.

¹¹⁵ In the vicinity of Uruk, cf. RGTC 8, 136.

¹¹⁶ In the vicinity of Uruk, cf. RGTC 8, 203.

¹¹⁷ In the vicinity of Uruk (not noted in RGTC 8).

¹¹⁸ In the vicinity of Uruk, cf. RGTC 8, 233.

¹¹⁹ Uruk region, cf. RGTC 8, 38.

¹²⁰ P. Dhorme, *Les tablettes babyloniennes de Neirab*, RA 55, 1928, 55. 77; F.M. Fales, *Remarks on the Neirab Texts*, *OrAnt* 12, 1973, 135–137; I. Eph'al, *The Western Minorities in Babylonia*, *OrNS* 47, 1978, 74–90; J. Oelsner, *Weitere Belege zu den Neirab-Urkunden*, *Altorientalische Forschungen* 16, 1989, 68.

¹²¹ Uruk region, RGTC 8, 188.

¹²² Cf. Joannēs¹²³ 86, n. 9.

¹²³ A. Poebel, *AJSL* 56, 1959, 135; Cameron¹⁰⁸ 318, n. 23; Dandamaev, *OLZ* 78, 1983, 355.

¹²⁴ Joannēs¹²³ 232–233.

¹²⁵ Ibid. 247.

¹²⁶ M.A. Dandamaev, *Vavilonskie pis'my* (Moskva 1983) 182, n. 5 to p. 84 suggested to date the document to the

1.7.	Nbk 1	(Okt. 8)
2.7.	Nbk 1	(Oct. 9)
2.7.	Nbk 1	
3.7.	Nbk 1	(Oct. 10)
3.7.	Nbk 1	
3.7.	Nbk 1	
3.7.	Nbk 1	(Oct. 12)
3.7.	Nbk 1	
3.7.	Nbk 1	
6.7.	Nbk 1	(Oct. 13)
13.7.	Nbk 1	(Oct. 20)
16.7.	Nbk 1	(Oct. 23)
16.7.	Nbk 1	
27.7.	Nbk 1	(Nov. 3)
22.8.		(Nov. 27)
24. [x].	Nbk 1	
()	Nbk 1	
()	Nbk 1	

TCL 12, 23. Kār-Nanā¹²⁹
 Unp. Erm. 15492. Bitqa-ša-Bēl-ētir¹³⁰
 I, 2 81659. (Pushkin Museum)¹³¹
 YOS XVII 293. Bitqa-ša-Bēl-ētir
 YOS XVII 294. Bitqa-ša-Bēl-ētir
 YOS XVII 295. Bitqa-ša-Bēl-ētir
 YOS XVII 296. Bitqa-ša-Bēl-ētir
 YOS XVII 297. Bitqa-ša-Bēl-ētir
 Unp. Erm. 15494. Bitqa-ša-Bēl-ētir
 YOS XVII 298. Bitqa-ša-Bēl-ētir
 BIN I 99. Uruk
 Nbk 17. Babylon
 YOS XVII 302. Uruk
 Nbk 18. Sippar
 DB §§ 49 and 50 – captured by Persian army.
 YOS XVII 299. Kār Eanna¹³²
 YOS XVII 300. Nār Bitqu¹³³
 YOS XVII 37. Uruk

Darius I-o¹³⁴

6.10.0	(Dec. 22, 522 B.C.)
24.10.0	(Jan. 9, 521 B.C.)
25.10.0	(Jan. 10)
29.10.0	(Jan. 14)
6.11.0	(Jan. 21)
19.11.0	(Feb. 3)
20.11.0	(Feb. 4)
20.11.0	
25.11.0	(Feb. 9)
26.11.0	(Feb. 10)
27.11.0	(Feb. 11)
4.12.0	(Feb. 18)

WVDOG IV 48 f. Pl. 15, no. 3:11. (Babylon?)¹³⁵
 Ibid.: 6
 Ibid.: 8
 82-9-18, 4540. (Sippar?)¹³⁶
 WVDOG IV, 48 f. Pl. 15, no. 3:14. (Babylon?)
 82-9-18, 4627. (Sippar?)¹³⁷
 82-9-18, 4537 Ibid.
 83-1-18, 763=Dar 1. Sippar
 A 729¹³⁸. Kutha
 83-1-18, 340=Dar 2. (Sippar)
 83-1-18, 27=Dar 3. (Sippar)
 83-1-18, 2241

¹²⁹ Uruk region, RGTC 8, 197.

¹³⁰ Uruk region, RGTC 8, 100. Many thanks for letting me quote these texts in advance to Dr N. Jankowska, the Keeper of the Hermitage Collection in Sankt Peterburg and to Mrs N. Czechowicz, who is preparing this collection for publication.

¹³¹ Mentioned by Weisberg, YOS XVII 65, n. 112. Identification by the presence of Šillā, son of Inninna-šum-usur, descendant of Kidin-Marduk, known only from the texts dated to the time of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar IV (Ibid. XXV–XXVI and in this table two texts from the Hermitage).

¹³² Uruk region, RGTC 8, 195.

¹³³ Uruk region, maybe a short version of Bitqu-ša-Bēl-ētir.

¹³⁴ Acc. to Leichty¹³⁷ 137 the text 82-5-22, 444 is dated 27.1. Dar o. The date is evidently wrong (cf. Cam 408 (23. I. Cam 8); later it begins the rule of Bardiya). The reading of the date of 82-9-18, 268=Dar 277 by Grayson in Leichty/

Grayson¹³⁴ 8 as 8.7. Dar o is also impossible to approve. Both authors did not note that their readings affect the chronology of the time, because they suggest that Darius openly revolted against Bardiya already at the very beginning of the year 522 B.C. It would be an additional argument against the view that the plotters entered Bardiya's palace suddenly. Most probably, both authors read the date wrongly. Strassmaier's copy suggests the reading of the month in Dar 277 as ITU. DU₆ MU 10? (MacGinnis in a letter to the author): "Strassmaier's MU 10 ... is definitely correct".

¹³⁵ The text 82-9-18, 5093=BM 65112 dated in Leichty/Grayson¹³⁴ to the first year of Darius was written in fact in the first year of Xerxes (J. MacGinnis, *Letter Order* No. 83).

¹³⁶ So acc. to Register of provenience.

¹³⁷ So acc. to Register of provenience.

¹³⁸ Parker/Dubberstein¹³⁵ 15.

4.12.0 (Feb. 27)
 15.12.0 (March 1)
 19.12.0 (March 7)
 21.12.0 (March 8)
 22.12.0 (March 10)
 24.12.0 (March 14)
 28.12.0 (March 18)
 4.12b.0 (March 21)
 7.12b.0 (April 1)
 18.12b.0 (April 1)
 -12b.0?
 17.-.0
 24.-.0
 -.-.0
 -.-.0
 -.-.0
 -.-.0

83-1-21, 3164
 Durand 602¹³⁹, Nippur
 82-9-18, 1517B
 82-9-18, 997
 83-1-18, 304=Dar 4. (Sippar)
 82-9-18, 267=Dar 5. (Sippar)
 83-1-18, 301=Dar 7. (Sippar)
 82-9-18, 4554. (Sippar?)¹⁴⁰
 82-9-18, 5682. (Sippar?)¹⁴¹
 VAT 8457=AnOr IX, 10. Bīt-bāni -xx
 83-1-18, 718=Dar 8. (Sippar)
 VAT 8459=AnOr IX, 11. Šaqillat¹⁴²
 83-1-18, 1178
 82-9-18, 461=Dar 9. (Sippar?)¹⁴³
 82-9-18, 126
 82-4-19, 6
 82-7-14, 1656=CT 57, 153
 82-9-18, 13021 (Sippar?)¹⁴⁴
 83-1-18, 866=Dar 10. (Sippar)

Darius I-1

4.1.1 (Apr. 17, 521 B.C.)
 22.1.1 (May 5)
 27.1.1 (May 10)
 4.2.1 (May 16)
 7.2.1 (May 19)
 8.2.1 (May 20)
 82.2.1?
 11.2.1 (May 23)
 -2.1
 14.3.1 (June 25)
 -3.1
 13.3.1 (Dar?) (Aug. 22)
 17.5.1 (Aug. 26)
 18.5.1 (Aug. 27)
 -7.1 (??)

SPL 37=Spar 8¹⁴⁵ Dūr- (k. Uruk)
 88-5-12, 9
 83-1-18, 785=Dar 11
 VS 4, 87/88
 76-11-17, S+1644=Dar 12
 84-2-11, 98. Babylon
 82-9-18, 4558
 TuM 2/3, 163
 82-7-14, 144=BOR 1, 1886/7, p. 76
 83-1-18, 991=Dar 13 (Sippar?)
 81-6-25, 58=Dar 15. Babylon
 82-9-18, 369=Dar 16. (Sippar)¹⁴⁶
 Dar 17. Sippar
 83-1-18, 1017=Dar 18¹⁴⁷
 83-1-18, 1208=Dar 20. Sippar

¹³⁹ J.-M. Durand, Documents cunéiformes de la IV^e Section de l'École pratique des Hautes Études. T. I: Catalogue et copies cunéiformes=École pratique des Hautes Études, IV^e Section Sciences historiques et philologiques II. Hautes Études Orientales 18 (Genève, Paris 1984).

¹⁴⁰ So acc. to Register of provenience.

¹⁴¹ So acc. to Register of provenience.

¹⁴² Uruk region, RGTC 8, 288.

¹⁴³ So acc. to Register of provenience.

¹⁴⁴ So acc. to Register of provenience.

¹⁴⁵ I. Spar, Studies in Neo-Babylonian Economic and Legal Texts (Diss. Univ. of Minnesota, Minneapolis 1972).

¹⁴⁶ Already A. Poebel, AJSL 56, 1939, 135, suggested dat-

ing the text to Darius' rule, which is however uncertain. The person by the name of Bēl-rimanni mentioned in the text was active from the beginning till the end of Cambyses' reign. The dating of the text of the first year of either Cambyses, Bardiya or Darius is also possible.

¹⁴⁷ Next text which we should include in the list is 83-1-18, 1259 (BM 75904)=Dar 19. According to Poebel¹⁴⁸ 1939, 135 the month should be read as Tašritu (VII), but the copy speaks rather for Ululu (VI), and this reading is now confirmed by Leichty/Finkelstein/Walker¹⁴⁹ 47. However, according to MacGinnis' collation (letter to the author, dated 4th November 1992), the year should be read as [MU] 24. KĀM or [M] U.4.KĀM.

62.8.12 (Nov. 11)
 1.9.1 (Dec. 6)
 8.9.1 (Dec. 13)
 20.9.1 (Dec. 25)
 22.9.1 (Dec. 27)
 5.10.1 (Jan. 8, 520 B.C.)
 14.10.1 (Jan. 17)
 17.10.1 (Jan. 20)
 22.10.1 (Jan. 25)
 24.10.1? (Jan. 27)
 27.10.1 (Jan. 30)
 6.11.1 (Feb. 8)
 8.11.1 (Feb. 10)
 17.11.1 (Feb. 19)
 17.11.1
 19.11.1 (Feb. 21)
 26.11.1 (Feb. 28)
 -11.1
 2.12.1 (March 5)
 3.12.1 (March 6)
 5.12.1 (Dar!) (March 8)
 62.12.1 (March 9)
 8.12.1 (March 11)
 14.12.1 (March 17)
 16.12.1 (March 19)
 18.12.1 (March 21)
 20.12.1 (March 23)
 21.12.1 (March 24)
 22.12.1 (March 25)
 -12.1
 9.-.1
 142.-.1
 19.-.1
 -.-.1

82-9-18, 7426
 VS 6, 118
 94-6-11, 26. Borsippa
 Clay, BE 8/I, 113. Borsippa
 82-7-14, 1083=CT 55, 74
 82-9-18, 517=Dar 22. Sippar
 82-9-18, 7019
 82-9-18, 2616
 VS 5, 89. Babylon
 Dar 23. Borsippa
 VS 6, 59. Babylon
 94-6-11, 49. Borsippa
 82-9-18, 1409
 82-9-18, 4050
 82-9-18, 5108
 94-6-11, 3=AOAT 222, no. 22. Borsippa.
 82-9-18, 335=Dar 24 (Sippar)
 82-9-18, 8601
 84-2-11, 159=Dar 25
 82-9-18, 1803
 83-1-18, 402=Nbn 49
 VS 3, 88. Borsippa
 79-4-30, 4=Dar 26. Babylon
 82-9-18, 5116
 82-7-14, 134
 83-1-18, 229=Dar 27
 83-1-18, 483=Dar 28
 83-1-18, 793
 83-1-18, 404=Dar 29
 82-9-18, 4401
 82-9-18, 11271
 82-9-18, 2655
 82-7-14, 398=CT 57, 707
 82-9-18A, 249. Sippar¹⁴⁸

Chronological Arrangement of the documents dated in year 521 B.C. (till the fall of Nebuchadnezzar IV)

4.1.	Dar 1	(Apr. 17, 521)	SPL 37=Spar 8 Dūr-x (k. Uruk)
22.1.	Dar 1	(May 5)	88-5-12, 9
25.1.		(May 8)	Darius takes part in the battle at Kunduruš in Media.
27.1.	Dar 1	(May 10)	83-1-18, 785

¹⁴⁸ The date of VS 6, 119, suggested by Ungnad in his edition on p. IX is wrong because there was no intercalation in the first year of Darius. For the same reason we cannot accept Leichty's reading of the date of 82-9-18, 8271 as 122.12.2. Dar 1? (Leichty/Grayson¹⁴⁹ 229) because it suggests the month was followed by an intercalary month Adaru šanu. The last text was collated by MacGinnis who reads the date as follows:

.....iti.ŠE IGI-tū

U.4.11.1.KĀM MU 20 [+]

and comments on it: "as the introduction to the letter includes Nidintu and Bultāya the text must date between years 6 to 23 of Darius; so with the traces MU 20+ it must be from years 20 to 23. The number of the day is very difficult to read". Later he added: "it must be year 22 due to iti.ŠE IGI-tū".

144			VS 4, 87/88
4.2.	Dar 1		76-11-17, S + 1644 = Dar 12
7.2.	Dar 1	(May 19)	84-2-11, 98. Babylon
8.2.	Dar 1	(May 20)	82-9-18, 4558
82.2.	Dar 1?		TuM 2/3, 163. Borsippa
11.2.	Dar 1	(May 23)	82-7-14, 144 = BOR 1, 1886/7, p. 76 (Sippar)
-2.	Dar 1		Nbk 11. (Sippar)
27.2.	Nbk 1	(June 8)	TuM 2/3, 100. Borsippa
12.3.	<Nbk?>1	(June 23)	83-1-18, 991 = Dar 13. (Sippar archive)
14.3.	Dar 1	(June 25)	81-6-25, 58 = Dar 15. Babylon
-3.	Dar 1		Nbk 12. Babylon.
() 4.	Nbk 1		82-9-18, 369 = Dar 16. (Sippar archive)
13.5.	<Dar>1	(Aug. 22)	OECT X 406 ¹⁴⁹ . Ālu-ša-Bannēšaya ¹⁵⁰
14.5.	Nbk 1	(Aug. 23)	YBC 4049 = YOS XVII 286. Gadēti
16.5.	Nbk 1	(Aug. 25)	Dar 17. Sippar
17.5.	Dar 1	(Aug. 26)	83-1-18, 1017 = Dar 18
18.5.	Dar 1	(Aug. 27)	YBC 4066 = YOS XVII 35. Kurbat
18.5.	Nbk 1	(Aug. 27)	YBC 7386 = YOS XVII 287. Uruk
24.5.	Nbk 1	(Sept. 2)	YBC 4045 = YOS XVII 288. Nār eššu
26.5.	Nbk 1	(Sept. 4)	NCBT 364 (Goetze, JNES 3, 45). Uruk
26.5.	Nbk 1		YOS XVII 289
2.6.	Nbk 1	(Sept. 9)	TCL 12, 22
2.6.	Nbk 1		YOS XVII 290
3.6.	Nbk 1	(Sept. 10)	Neirab 1. (Nippur region)
4.6.	Nbk 1	(Sept. 11)	YOS XVII 291
8.6.2	Nbk 1	(Sept. 15)	BRM I 43. Borsippa (Cf. Joannēs, RAss 76, 1982, 86, n. 9).
11.6.	Nbk 1	(Sept. 18)	YOS XVII 292
13.6.2	Nbk 1	(Sept. 20)	Nbk 13. Cameron, AJSL 58, 1941, 318, n. 23; Babylon (Danda-
14.6.	Nbk 1	(Sept. 21)	maev, OLZ 78, 1983, 355)
15.6.	Nbk 1	(Sept. 22)	YOS XVII 301. Uruk
15.6.	Nbk 1		TuM 2/3, 150
19.6.	Nbk 1	(Sept. 26)	L. 1667 (Joannēs ⁶² 252-253). Borsippa
21.6.	Nbk 1	(Sept. 28)	L. 1657 (Ibid. 247). Borsippa
23.6.	Nbk 1	(Sept. 30)	Nbk 14 (Sippar archive)
24.6.	Nbk 1	(Oct. 1)	Nbk 15 (Sippar archive)
25.6.	Nbk 1	(Oct. 2)	Nbk 16
1.7.	Nbk 1	(Oct. 8)	TCL 12, 23. Kār-Nanā
3.7.	Nbk 1	(Oct. 10)	YOS XVII 293
3.7.	Nbk 1		YOS XVII 294
3.7.	Nbk 1		YOS XVII 295
5.7.	Nbk 1	(Oct. 12)	YOS XVII 296
5.7.	Nbk 1		YOS XVII 297
5.7.	Nbk 1		Unp. Erm. 15494
6.7.	Nbk 1	(Oct. 13)	YOS XVII 298
13.7.	Nbk 1	(Oct. 20)	BIN I 99. Uruk
16.7.	Nbk 1	(Oct. 23)	Nbk 17. Babylon
16.7.	Nbk 1		YOS XVII 302. Uruk

27.7.	Nbk 1	(Nov. 3)	Nbk 18. Sippar
-7.	Dar 1	(??)	83-1-18, 1208 = Dar 20. Sippar
62.8.	Dar 1?	(Nov. 11)	82-9-18, 7426

Beginning from 1.9.1 all texts are dated exclusively to Darius' rule.

[Finished in November 1992]

Addendum:

The list of texts assigned to Nebuchadnezzar IV can now be supplemented by three additional texts:

218/91.6.	Nbk 1	Erm. 15415 Bitqa-ša-Bēl-ētir ¹⁵¹
17.11.	Nbk 1	VS 4, 9 ¹⁵²
-11.	Nbk 1	CT 55, 79 ¹⁵³

[May 1993]

¹⁵¹ Mentioned by M.A. Dandamaev in NABU 1993 (No. 1) 9. the Reigns of Nebuchadnezzar III and Nebuchadnezzar IV, NABU (to be published).

¹⁵² Cf. Dandamaev, *ibid.* and S. Zawadzki, *Chronology of*

¹⁵³ Dandamaev, *ibid.*; Zawadzki, *ibid.*

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¹⁴⁹ G.J.P. McEwan, *Late Babylonian Texts in the Ashmolean Museum* = *Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Texts X* (Oxford 1984).

¹⁵⁰ Nippur region, RGTC 8, 63.